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60 Years of U.S.-India Relations

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As always, we welcome your comments and suggestions. Please send your feedback to Mr. Clayton A. Bond, Acting Information Resource Officer, Public Affairs Section, U.S. Embassy, The American Center, 24 Kasturba Gandhi Marg, New Delhi 110001.

Note: Internet sites included in this publication, other than those of the U.S. government, should not be construed as an endorsement of the views contained therein.

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U.S.-India diplomatic relations date from the 18th century, when George Washington, America's first President, sent an envoy to India, but contemporary Americans are proud that the United States was the first country to initiate diplomatic relations with India in August 1947. Since then, there have been many figures in each country who have paved the way towards greater Indo-American friendship. The New Delhi American Center and SPAN magazine put together a photo exhibition, which highlights the relations between the United States and India over the past 60 years. It will be on display at the American Center until the beginning of September, after which it will move around to constituent posts in Chennai, Kolkata and Mumbai.

Since the end of the Cold War, relations between India and the United States have strengthened significantly, and enjoy bipartisan support in the U.S. Congress. During the 1990s India began the process of opening its economy, and pursuing a far more global agenda. The strategic value of partnership with India was recognized nearly ten years ago by President Clinton, whose March 2000 visit was a major U.S. initiative to improve relations with India. The most significant result of his visit was the Delhi Declaration or the Vision Statement signed by President Clinton and Prime Minister Vajpayee, which focused on realizing the full potential of U.S.-India cooperation in a wide range of fields. It also resulted in the establishment of a U.S.-India Joint Working Group on Counterterrorism.

During his subsequent visit to the U.S., later in 2000, Prime Minister Vajpayee issued a second Joint Statement with President Clinton. Maintaining the momentum, the most significant Joint U.S.-India statement was issued during the landmark July 2005 Washington visit of Prime Minister Manmohan Singh. In March 2006, President Bush spent three days in India. During his stay, he discussed further strengthening a bilateral "global partnership," and issued another Joint Statement. President Bush is determined to build a strong partnership with India based on a common world vision, common core values and common threats from those who do not share these values.

In his address during the March 2006 visit, President Bush said, "For many years, the United States and India were kept apart by

the rivalries that divided the world. That's changed. Our two great democracies are now united by opportunities that can lift our people, and by threats that can bring down all our progress. The United States and India, separated by half the globe, are closer than ever before, and the partnership between our free nations has the power to transform the world."

"We can see shared opportunities in a wide span of activities, such as infrastructure development, counter-terrorism and security cooperation, transformation of India's rural agricultural economy, education for more of India's people, public health care, climate change, and science and technology," writes U.S. Ambassador to India David C. Mulford, in a leader article in *The Times of India*, July 30, 2007. Currently, among the various areas of partnership, civil nuclear cooperation clearly steals most of the headlines. Under Secretary for Political Affairs R. Nicholas Burns, in a briefing in Washington on July 27, 2007 stated that "the United States commits to full civil nuclear cooperation with India. And that includes research and development, nuclear safety, commercial trade in nuclear reactors, in technology and in fuel." Apart from the nuclear deal, the U.S.-India partnership has made important strides in other areas as well. The major confidence building measures include the \$100 million Agricultural Knowledge Initiative (AKI) announced by President Bush during his visit last year, joint training exercises of our navies, armies and air forces, close cooperation in critical humanitarian operations after the Indian Ocean tsunami, and technology transfer.

We hope you find the articles included in this section of interest.

For additional information, a webliography is presented below. The inclusion of Internet sites other than those of the U.S. government should not be construed as an endorsement of the views contained therein. The websites are current as of date and are subject to change at any time.

Ambassador David C. Mulford's briefing to the media on the 123 Agreement and U. S.- India Relations, July 30, 2007.
<http://newdelhi.usembassy.gov/ambjuly3007.html>

American Foreign Policy Council
<http://www.afpc.org/>

Asia Society
<http://www.asiasociety.org/>

Brookings Institution
<http://www.brookings.org>

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
<http://www.carnegieendowment.org/>

CATO Institute
<http://www.cato.org/>

Center for International Security and Cooperation (CISAC)
<http://cisac.stanford.edu/>

Center for Nonproliferation Studies (CNS): South Asia Program
<http://www.csis.org/saprog/>

Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS)
<http://www.csis.org/index.php>

Council on Foreign Relations
<http://www.cfr.org/>

Department of State
<http://www.state.gov/>

Foreign Policy Association
<http://www.fpa.org/>

Foreign Policy in Focus
<http://www.fpif.org/>

Foreign Policy Research Institute
<http://www.fpri.org/>

Indian American Center for Political Awareness
<http://www.iacfp.org/>

Institute for Policy Studies
<http://www.ips-dc.org/>

RAND - National Security Research Division
<http://www.rand.org/nsrd/>

The Heritage Foundation
<http://www.heritage.org/>

U.S. - India Relations
<http://www.state.gov/p/sca/c17361.htm>

U.S. Department of Defense
<http://www.defenselink.mil/>

U.S. Department of State: Bureau of South and Central Asian Affairs
<http://www.state.gov/p/sca/>

U.S.-India Civil Nuclear Cooperation Initiative - Bilateral Agreement on Peaceful Nuclear Cooperation
<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2007/89552.htm>

U.S.-India Friendship: On-Line Resource for Friends of India
<http://www.usindiafriendship.net/>

The U.S.-India Friendship: Where We Were and Where We're Going
<http://www.state.gov/p/sca/rls/rm/2006/64230.htm>

U.S.-India Relations: The Road Ahead
<http://www.state.gov/p/us/rm/2007/85424.htm>

U.S.-India: Strengthening a Global Partnership
http://usinfo.state.gov/sa/south_asia/india_summit.html

United Nations - Office for Disarmament Affairs
<http://disarmament2.un.org/>

United States Institute of Peace
<http://www.usip.org/>

United States Nuclear Regulatory Commission
<http://www.nrc.gov/>

The White House
<http://www.whitehouse.gov/>

World Policy Institute
<http://www.worldpolicy.org/>

1. AMERICA AND INDIA AT A TURNING POINT

By Sumit Ganguly. Current History, v. 104, no. 680, March 2005, pp. 120-124.

This article looks into the emerging U.S.-India relationship in the light of the historical background of their relations in the past. It focuses on the impact of 9/11 on the bilateral relationship, joint military exercises conducted by both countries, and India's foreign policies with regard to its volatile relations with Pakistan. Finally, it examines the future prospects of U.S.-India relations.

2. AMERICA'S GRAND DESIGN IN ASIA

By Daniel Twining. The Washington Quarterly, v. 30, no. 3, Summer 2007, pp. 79-94.

In the face of the challenges posed by China, the United States is facilitating the emergence of new centers of strength in Asia that will allow the United States to retain its position as Asia's decisive strategic actor. The United States is cultivating India as a strong independent center of power. The U.S. has aggressively promoted defense and technology transfer to India. Rather than the bipolar U.S.-Chinese order, Indian officials share the U.S. confidence that with the growth of India's economy and capabilities, New Delhi will be an important center of power in the emerging Asian order.

3. DIPLOMACY, DOMESTIC POLITICS, AND THE U.S.-INDIA NUCLEAR AGREEMENT

By Dinshaw Mistry. Asian Survey, v. 46, no. 5, September/October 2006, pp. 675-698.

The U.S.-India nuclear agreement stemmed from the Bush administration's desire to transform U.S.-India relations and to develop a strong strategic partnership with India. This article looks into this landmark agreement, which concerns the transfer of civilian nuclear technology from the United States to India. It also takes stock of the domestic policies of the two democracies and their impact and influence in the implementation of this agreement.

4. INDIA IN 2006: A NEW EMPHASIS ON ENGAGEMENT

By Peter R. Lavoy. Asian Survey, v. 47, no. 1, January/February 2007, pp. 113-124.

In its quest to become a great power, some major steps were taken by India in the year 2006 to improve its economy and strengthen its international standing. On the one hand it has strengthened its strategic partnership with the United States, and on the other it has maintained positive relations with China. Today, it has established its stake to become a great power and is being watched seriously by the world as to what kind of power will it emerge into.

5. INDIA, EUROPE, AMERICA: A GEOCULTURAL TRIANGLE

By Richard Pells. Chronicle of Higher Education, v. 53, no. 16, December 08, 2006, pp. B10-B12.

Analyzing historian Rob Kroes's paper European Anti-Americanism: What's New?, which appeared in The Journal of American History; the author notes that the negative public attitudes of Europeans toward the United States, and the longstanding cultural "tug-of-war" relationship between America and Europe, is largely absent in India. Although many countries have shown open animosity towards America during the Bush administration, some countries like India have a more sympathetic view. Pells attributes this partly to the fact that Britain, not Europe, has historically dominated Indian public life, and this tradition, combined with the desire to modernize economically and widespread poverty in India "has made it a country for which the often-symbolic disputes between Americans and Europeans make little sense." Unlike many countries, where American popular culture is reviled, Pells notes that India "is one of the few countries on the planet where American films are neither pervasive nor resented". He observes that India has absorbed aspects of both European and American culture, while preserving a distinct Indian flavor. He believes that India "may provide a more desirable model than the European Union of how other nations can define their identities not in opposition to, but independent of, America."

6. INDIA'S PATH TO GREATNESS

By Martin Walker. The Wilson Quarterly, v. 30, no. 3, Summer 2006, pp. 22-30.

India is one of Asia's two emerging powers and an important strategic partner of the United States. How it navigates its growth ahead will determine the future of the whole region. However, India's brighter looking future is subject to some sobering challenges including the accelerating increase of expectations among its own people and their demands.

7. INDIA-U.S. RELATIONS

By K. Alan Kronstadt. CRS Report for Congress, June 26, 2007, 57 p.

South Asia has emerged in the 21st century as increasingly vital to core U.S. foreign policy interests. India, the region's dominant actor, is now recognized as a nascent major power and "natural partner" of the United States. While, many analysts view it as a potential counterweight to China's growing clout, the "strategic partnership" of Washington and New Delhi is based on shared values such as democracy, pluralism, and the rule of law. Numerous economic, security, and global initiatives, including full civilian nuclear energy cooperation are underway. At a time when India is in the midst of major and rapid economic expansion and is being seen as a lucrative market by many business interests, the United States supports India's efforts to transform its once quasi-socialist economy through fiscal reform and market opening.

8. REMARKS AT THE U.S.-INDIA BUSINESS COUNCIL'S 32nd ANNIVERSARY "GLOBAL INDIA" SUMMIT

By U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice. June 27, 2007.

<http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2007/06/87487.htm>

In her remarks at the 32nd anniversary of the U.S.-India Business Council "Global India" summit, Secretary Condoleezza Rice recognized the role played by the council in transforming the relationship between India and the United States, which has reached new heights. She said that the U.S.-India relationship is not merely based on the

government-to-government relationship, but rather it is the people of the two nations who have come to know one another and have opted to cooperate and strengthen one another. While admitting that India and the United States are currently accomplishing a great deal together, she also said that there are immense possibilities of partnership ahead.

9. U.S.-INDIA PARTNERSHIP

By George W. Bush. *Vital Speeches of the day*, v. 72, no. 11, March 15, 2006, pp. 322-326.

During his visit to India last year, President Bush observed that the United States and India were kept apart for many years by the rivalries that divided the world. He identified India as a natural partner of the United States in the 21st century as both the democracies are brothers in the cause of the human liberty. Although, geographically segregated by half the globe, the two countries have come closer than ever and the partnership between them has the power of transforming the world.

10. UNITED STATES POLICY IN SOUTH ASIA

By R. Nicholas Burns. *DISAM Journal of International Security Assistance Management*, v. 29, no. 2, Spring 2007, pp. 115-122.

This article presents the excerpts of the remarks by Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs R. Nicholas Burns, to the Asia Society in Washington, D.C. on November 27, 2006. Burns talks about the U.S. policy in South Asia outlining foreign policy goals and about seeking a closer partnership with India. He also stated concern about broadening relations with other countries of South Asia, which is now central focus of the U.S. foreign policy. He mentioned that the U.S.-India Civilian Nuclear Initiative is only one part of a much broader partnership with the Government of India, which is inspired by people-to-people and business-to-business relationships.

11. US-INDIAN RELATIONS: A NEW AGENDA FOR A NEW ERA

By Bruce Riedel. *Center for the Advanced Study of India at the University of Pennsylvania*, April 19, 2007.

<http://www.brookings.org/printme.wbs?page=/pagedefs/3878f7041449ff414337175d0a1415cb.xml>

The signing of the U.S.-India Civilian Nuclear Agreement on December 18, 2006 has laid the foundation of a new era in the U.S.-India diplomatic relationship marking the end of a quarter

century that was dominated by the nuclear proliferation issue. The overwhelming Senate approval (85-12) reflects the consensus of the American foreign policy strategists in both parties that India would be one of America's most crucial partners in 21st century. The new era after the deal will be marked by action in three areas – bilateral relations, global issues, and regional issues in South Asia.

BUSINESS & ECONOMICS

12. COMPETITIVE ADVANTAGE ON A WARMING PLANET

By Jonathan Lash and Fred Wellington. *Harvard Business Review*, v. 85, no. 3, March 2007, pp. 95-102.

From traditional smokestack industries to investment banking and other "clean" service businesses, companies throughout the world are going to feel the effects of global climate change, argue the authors. Climate change presents the business community with an array of new risks – regulatory and litigation costs, supply chain problems, reputation risks and physical threats by droughts, floods, storms and rising sea levels. It also offer a number of new opportunities – increased demand for new technologies and new services, like managing the already flourishing market for carbon allowances. In the coming decades, the ability to limit a company's exposure to climatic threats, knowledge of how to assess and quantify new risks, and readiness to take advantage of new opportunities will become important economic factors deciding the likelihood of a company's failure or success, predict the authors. Even today, investors are discounting share prices they deem "poorly positioned to compete in the warming world," and consumers are considering a company's environmental record before making purchasing decisions, they say. Under those circumstances, "doing well by doing good" may no longer be enough as business climate policies are becoming an area of constant innovation and intense competition.

13. ECONOMIC FREEDOM AND NET BUSINESS FORMATION

By Noel D. Campbell and Tammy M. Rogers. *Cato Journal*, v. 27, no. 1, Winter 2007, pp. 23-36.

Economic research consistently indicates that countries with more economic freedom – secure property rights, limited government intervention, low taxes, etc. – enjoy higher per capita incomes and better living conditions than countries that are economically less

free. Economists argue that in less free, more politicized economies creative economic energies are channeled away from wealth-creating entrepreneurial activity and into securing political protection from market forces. Campbell and Rogers argue that similar differences also occur between the U.S. states, some of which have significantly different economic rules and regulations. They demonstrate that economic freedom on the state level has a more powerful and direct impact on entrepreneurial activity (understood as net business formation) than other state government policies aimed to stimulate the economy. The authors argue their findings support the libertarian economic approach: instead of yielding to the temptation to "fix" the economy, state governments should focus on safeguarding property rights and leaving entrepreneurs enough room to flourish. A smaller, less active government "will do more to promote prosperity than the conventional state development model," they say.

14. FROM CREDIT TO CROPS

By Stijn Claessens and Erik Feijen. *Finance & Development*, v. 44, no. 1, March 2007, pp. 35-37.

<http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/fandd/2007/03/claessen.htm>

Claessens, a research director at the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and Feijen, an economist with the World Bank, argue that more development of financial services can directly reduce world hunger by providing farmers in developing countries with the credit they need to buy such tools as tractors, fertilizers and livestock to increase agricultural production. This, in turn, causes household incomes to rise and food prices to decrease, resulting in less undernourishment. They studied more than 50 developing countries between 1980 and 2003 to find relationships between financial development and investment in agricultural inputs, productivity and nutrition. They incorporated variables likely to affect those relationships, such as government expenditures as a percentage of gross national product, level of economic activity, inflation and the percentage of the population living in rural areas. They found that private credit and greater agricultural productivity are linked, as are credit and investment in the use of agricultural equipment. The authors say commercial banks are achieving success in some poor countries, including the development of sustainable micro-credit institutions, mobile phone banking, smart cards and the use of scoring to extend credit.

15. A NEW DEAL FOR GLOBALIZATION

By Kenneth F. Scheve and Matthew J. Slaughter. *Foreign Affairs*, v. 86, no. 4, July-August 2007, pp. 34-47.

<http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20070701faessay86403/kenneth-f-scheve-matthew-j-slaughter/a-new-deal-for-globalization.html>

Scheve and Slaughter assert that surging inequality of income is driving the rise in protectionist sentiment among 96 percent of the U.S. workers who are seeing the real value of their wages fall. The typical political tradeoff for maintaining open trade consists of spending more money for trade adjustment assistance to workers who lose their jobs to imports and for raising more people to a higher level of education. The authors argue that these policies won't work for decades at best. Instead they propose a redistribution of income from the most wealthy. A New Deal for globalization is the model of Roosevelt's 1930s New Deal. Because income tax rates are already progressive, they propose increasing the income of the wealthy subject to taxes for Social Security and Medicare while reducing or eliminating those taxes for those making less money.

16. THE PARADOX OF CAPITAL

By Eswar Prasad, Raghuram Rajan and Arvind Subramanian. *Finance and Development*, v. 44, no. 1, March 2007, pp. 16-19.

According to standard economic theory, financial capital should flow from richer, industrial to poorer, developing countries in search of new investment opportunities and higher rate of return. Foreign direct investment (FDI) does follow that pattern, but other capital flows tend to move in the opposite direction, a phenomenon that has long puzzled economists. The authors of the article point out that the paradox has intensified since 1990, when it was first described by Robert Lucas. By examining a sample of 51 nonindustrial countries, the authors also found out that countries that relied less on foreign finance have grown faster in the long run. In other words, higher growth in those countries is associated mainly with higher domestic savings. The authors suggest this may be a result of weak financial systems in many developing countries that hamper the absorption of foreign capital, slow down borrowing and force savings. In some countries with weak financial systems foreign capital may be neither needed nor helpful, the authors conclude, because the forces of globalization may be generating productivity gains and growth despite those financial weaknesses. "Any discussion of the merits of capital account openness is likely to be very specific to a country," they say.

INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL RELATIONS & SECURITY

17. AMERICA'S GRAND DESIGN IN ASIA

By Daniel Twining. *Washington Quarterly*, v. 30, no. 3, Summer 2007, pp. 79-94.

Twining believes that U.S. policymakers are employing a radically different strategy in Asia to facilitate the ascent of friendly Asian centers of power that will both constrain, not contain, China and allow the U.S. to retain its position as Asia's decisive strategic actor. The U.S. is actively cultivating Japan as a center of power and to reshape Southeast Asian security by constructing new partnerships; however, Indonesia and Vietnam may prove more important to the U.S. than Thailand and the Philippines. In 2005, the U.S. announced an historic effort to facilitate India's rise as an independent power.

18. THE LIMITS OF INTELLIGENCE IN MARITIME COUNTERPROLIFERATION OPERATIONS

By Craig H. Allen. *Naval War College Review*, v. 60, no. 1, Winter 2007, pp. 35-52.

The author writes that the U.S. naval forces have long been at the vanguard of global counter-proliferation efforts. They have also been at the heart of several recent maritime interceptions carried out as part of the Proliferation Security Initiative. Allen says the legitimacy of PSI operations must be grounded in accurate intelligence. He examines the intelligence requirements of maritime counter-proliferation efforts as well as the degrees of risk management associated with operational decision making, and points to President Bush's assertion that maritime interdiction should be carried out in a way that doesn't "unnecessarily interfere with maritime commerce or the freedom of navigation." The multilateral aspect of PSI operations and intelligence sharing is another factor for consideration. Allen says some PSI nations are on record as saying they will never reveal some successful interdiction activities to prevent illicit proliferators from taking advantage of such information to probe for weaknesses. The downside to this, he writes, is that the public and non-participating PSI states may never fully learn of the initiative's accomplishments. He concludes that national security decision makers of the U.S. should not accept less than the best intelligence when dealing with weapons of mass destruction, but "they must also be prepared to make timely decisions when that intelligence falls short of certainty."

19. MAKING 1540 WORK: ACHIEVING UNIVERSAL COMPLIANCE WITH NONPROLIFERATION EXPORT CONTROL STANDARDS

By Matthew Fuhrman. *World Affairs*, v. 169, no. 3, Winter 2007, pp. 143-152.

Preventing hostile regimes and terrorists for shopping the globe for weapons of mass destruction (WMD) is at the heart of instituting an effective international export control regime. The author traces the experiences of Russia and India in the 1990s to present best practices for the United States to encourage others to adhere to UN Security Council Resolution 1540, which contributes to the international control of WMD and related materials. He advocates a two-stage approach, where the United States establishes a state's willingness to comply, offering outreach, incentives, or sanctions as needed, then enhances their ability to comply through training, equipment, and expertise to help states develop the legislation and facilities needed to keep WMD out of the wrong hands.

20. NATO'S INTERNATIONAL SECURITY ROLE IN THE TERRORIST ERA

By Renee De Nevers. *International Security*, v. 31, No. 4, Spring 2007, pp. 34-66.

While the United States has cobbled together various coalitions in its pursuit of the war on terrorism, NATO, as a formal institution, has played a limited military role. While contributing to defense, and mounting military missions in Afghanistan, Bosnia, and elsewhere, NATO has not come up with a consistent extra-territorial strategy against terrorism, in part due to limited military capabilities. In addition, the U.S. strategy has shown a preference for cobbling together ad-hoc alliances quickly, rather than mobilizing the NATO as a whole. While NATO has expanded defensive tactics in the Mediterranean, intelligence sharing tends to be bilateral. In addition, NATO's effectiveness in the field is limited by national constraints on troop activity and a shortage of armed personnel. The author concludes the United States is unlikely to abandon NATO, which it regards as its most valuable political alliance. However, the success or failure of NATO forces in Afghanistan may define its military usefulness in the war against terror.

21. OVERHAULING INTELLIGENCE

By Mike McConnell. *Foreign Affairs*, v. 86, no. 4, July-August 2007, pp. 49-58.
<http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20070701faessay86404/mike-mcconnell/overhauling-intelligence.html>

McConnell, the new U.S. director of national intelligence, makes clear how much hard work remains to coordinate the 16 agencies that collect a billion bits of new information a day to thwart terrorists and other threats. The big challenge is striking the right balance between centralized direction and decentralized action. Coordination of domestic and foreign intelligence remains a problem. A new single culture must supplant the differing cultures of the separate agencies. Collaboration among the federal agencies and between them and state and local governments and businesses is more important than ever, given the rapid action required by strategic threats these days. Intelligence officers need to begin viewing their work as sharing information, not owning it, and they need to overcome their risk aversion to hiring native speakers of foreign languages. They need to develop and adapt technology more quickly and efficiently, and they need sustained public and political support.

22. THE PROLIFERATION SECURITY INITIATIVE: A GLASS HALF-FULL

By Mark J. Valencia, *Arms Control Today*, v. 37, no. 5, June 2007, pp. 17-21.
http://www.armscontrol.org/act/2007_06/Valencia.asp

The author says the PSI's focus on interdiction has constrained some trade in weapons of mass destruction, their delivery systems and related material or has forced "rogue traders" to change tactics. The initiative, with over 80 supporting nations, has evolved from maritime interdiction to port inspections and aerial interdictions, as well as coordinated efforts to disrupt financial networks that could supply this trade. He also points to ship-boarding agreements the United States has concluded bilaterally with seven countries covering about 70 percent of the world's commercial fleet measured by tonnage. Valencia says that secrecy surrounding PSI interdictions and methods make it difficult to evaluate the effectiveness of the four-year-old initiative. Greater transparency would help, he said, as well as bringing PSI into the United Nations system.

23. STORMING THE IVORY TOWER: THE MILITARY'S RETURN TO AMERICAN CAMPUSES

By Marc Lindemann. *Parameters*, v. 36, no. 4, Winter 2006-07, pp. 44-57.
<http://www.carlisle.army.mil/usawc/Parameters/06winter/lindeman.htm>

The author, a U.S. Army lieutenant, writes that the U.S. military must take full advantage of recruiting opportunities again available at the most selective university campuses, a result of a recent U.S. Supreme Court decision that removed remaining restrictions and opened up the possibility of reinstating Reserve Officers' Training Corps' (ROTC) in American colleges. The author also traces the history of ROTC at Yale University.

24. STRATEGY AND THE SEARCH FOR PEACE

By Gregory D. Foster. *The Futurist*, v. 40, no. 6, November/December 2006, pp. 18-22.

National Defense University professor Foster envisions a future of lasting peace and encourages strategic planners to act upon it. There is much about the future that cannot be predicted, but it is almost certain that tomorrow's military decision makers will have to deal with reduced response time and increased disaster potential. It is a moral obligation of government to look ahead and plan for the future. Foster concludes by outlining differences between the past and the present and creates strategic imperatives that should be used to deal with the future.

25. THE WIDENING MILITARY CAPABILITIES GAP BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND EUROPE: DOES IT MATTER?

By Stephen J. Coonen. *Parameters*, v. 36, no. 3, Autumn 2006, pp. 67-84.
<http://www.carlisle.army.mil/USAWC/Parameters/06autumn/coonen.htm>

The author describes the widening military capabilities gap between the United States and Europe. However, the gap should not prevent interoperability between the two forces. For example, the U.S. could play a leading role during high-intensity warfare while the Europeans become more prominent in the post-conflict phase. Americans and Europeans also perceive threats in the world today similarly. The author, a lieutenant in the U.S. Army, concludes that, although a gap exists between U.S. and European military capabilities, this disparity may not be as significant as many have implied.

26. THE CRITICAL BATTLES: POLITICAL RECONCILIATION AND RECONSTRUCTION IN IRAQ

By Carlos Pascual and Kenneth M. Pollack. Washington Quarterly, v. 30, no. 3, Summer 2007, pp. 7-19.

Pascual and Pollack present their ideas for addressing the situation in Iraq, which they describe as a "monumental task." They believe it is vital that Iraq be recognized as a failed state and that Iran, Syria, Turkey, and neighboring Sunni states be involved. The best case would be for the surge to provide enough security to begin rebuilding Iraq's political, economic, and social institutions and thus make way for the compromises necessary for a political settlement. The authors also emphasize the need to take into account lessons learned about peacemaking and peacekeeping.

27. ON IMPROVING NATION-STATE GOVERNANCE

By Robert Rotberg. Daedalus, v. 136, no. 1, Winter 2007, pp. 152-155.

The author argues for the creation of a universal system of ranking states with respect to their results in good-governance, just as the nongovernmental organization Transparency International is ranking states in respect to corruption. In the author's view, a transparent and objective ranking system would provide a stronger incentive to improvement and would have a more positive effect on the developing world than pressure from Washington, London or Brussels. He cites eight main categories of political services that numerous studies link to economic growth. The most important is security, followed by the rule of law, freedom to participate in the political process and economic opportunity. The other fundamental goods are health care, education, transportation and communication infrastructure, and the empowerment of civil society. As shown by numerous public opinion surveys in Africa, Asia, Latin America and Europe, these are also the aspects of "good governance" that most people throughout the world agree upon, writes the author.

28. TWO PARTIES, TWO TYPES OF NOMINEES, TWO PATHS TO WINNING A PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION, 1972-2004

By D. Jason Berggren. Presidential Studies Quarterly, v. 37, no. 2, June 2007, pp. 203-227.

Berggren examines U.S. presidential primary poll data over the last three decades to determine patterns in how candidates are selected by the Republicans and Democrats. Previous scholars did not include party affiliation in their analysis, probably concluding that frontrunners usually win their party's nomination. Berggren demonstrates this is not true. After reforms to the nomination process were completed in the early 1970s, almost all presidential nominees for the Democratic party from 1972-2004 have been unknown candidates who have entered the race late and only had single-digit support in the polls at the start (former Vice President Al Gore was the exception.) Early front-runners for the Democratic nomination have faltered, and the eventual party candidate can be predicted by looking at the results of the Iowa caucus, the New Hampshire primary and the first southern primary. In contrast, the first poll taken a year before the Iowa Caucus has been 100 percent accurate in selecting the Republican party presidential nominee, usually a well-known party elder. The author argues that differing cultures of the two parties consistently lead to these outcomes, and these styles are reflected in each party's nomination rules. Most state Republican parties use a winner-take-all method for allocating convention delegates, while the Democrats allocate delegates proportionately among those running. Under this scenario, Democrats are more likely to have a choice to make during the primary process with Republicans ratifying an established choice. Berggren concludes that future studies of the nomination process must take into consideration the differences between Democrat and Republican styles.

29. UNILATERALLY SHAPING U.S. NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY: THE ROLE OF NATIONAL SECURITY DIRECTIVES

By Vikki Gordon. Presidential Studies Quarterly, v. 37, no. 2, June 2007, pp. 349-367.

Among the foreign-policy tools that American President has at his disposal is the little-known National Security Directive (NSD). This tool of unilateral action was established during the Truman administration, initially as policy research papers designed to help the President in his decision-making process. It was not until the Kennedy Administration that NSDs were used to articulate policy decisions. NSDs are also used to request information from government agencies and formulate a cohesive policy for national

action. Most NSDs are classified and unless the Administration releases an unclassified version or a fact sheet (usually to garner public support for a policy), neither Congress nor the public is aware that the Executive Branch has acted unilaterally on a particular policy. From the Kennedy through the Bush I Administrations (NSDs during the Clinton and Bush II Administrations remain classified), the author believes that 1200 NSDs have been issued, covering such topics as guidance for treaty negotiations, management coordination, setting policies for countries or regions, developing national security doctrines, arms sales, economic policy or establishing positions on international issues such as space, science, environment, refugees, human rights or public diplomacy. NSDs have long-lasting influence since they remain in effect unless rescinded by a later administration. The author notes that very little research has been done on NSDs and their effects since they remain out of the public domain. For this reason, Congress does not have the opportunity to either acquiesce or overturn a policy generated through the NSD process.

COMMUNICATION & INFORMATION

30. ARE JOURNALISTS THE 21ST CENTURY'S BUGGY WHIP MAKERS?

By William Dietrich. *Nieman Reports*, v. 60, no. 4, Winter 2006, pp. 31-34.
<http://www.nieman.harvard.edu/reports/06-4NRwinter/p31-0604-dietrich.html>

Many U.S. newspapers are cutting their editorial staffs and closing their international bureaus. Most major metropolitan areas are dominated by only one newspaper, where there was once a competitive market. Dietrich, with the *Seattle Times* and a 1988 Nieman Fellow, speculates that journalism as a profession is becoming obsolete. The journalist's advantage in the past was the capability to gain access to information not readily available to the public, but that advantage is diminishing in an era when the Internet and simplified recording and video technologies allow any amateur to become a reporter. Dietrich notes that emerging amateur journalists today rarely purport to maintain the balance and objectivity that has always been a point of professional pride. He also wonders whether this evolution of technology has devalued the role that the journalist has played in a democracy – to not merely disseminate information, but help the public understand its importance. Examining the changing media landscape, Dietrich raises the possibility that newspapers

may yet reinvent themselves to maintain a competitive advantage in the marketplace if they draw on their vast informational and archival resources.

31. GOOGLE'S MOON SHOT

By Jeffrey Toobin. *New Yorker*, v. 82, no. 48, February 5, 2007.

The author describes the efforts of the search engine Google to create a database of all published books. Google ran into trouble with authors and publishers over copyright issues, but Toobin believes that the parties will settle out of court for royalty payments. Many of the world's leading libraries, including Harvard, Oxford and the New York Public Library, are partners to this project. Google describes it as creating the universal digital library. There are other efforts to digitize book collections, but everyone is waiting for the outcome of the lawsuit against Google and wondering whether Google's search engine will be up to the task of searching the vast universal digital library.

32. THE HEALTH OF NATIONS

By Ezra Klein. *American Prospect*, v. 18, no. 5, May 2007, pp. 17-21.

The author notes that many countries provide better health care at lower cost than does the United States – the only industrialized nation to have so many uninsured and underinsured citizens. Klein looks beyond the political and market forces that contribute to the U.S. health-care funding status quo, and examines models from other countries that the author believes provide better coverage at better economy. The author also highlights the positive record of the Veterans Health Administration, pointing out that the VHA system is separate from the military hospitals, such as Walter Reed, that have received negative publicity recently.

GLOBAL ISSUES

33. CHINA'S COAL FUTURE

By Peter Fairley. *Technology Review*, v. 110, no. 1, January/February 2007, pp. 56-61.
<http://www.technologyreview.com/Energy/18069/>

To prevent massive pollution and slow its growing contribution to global warming, China will have to make advanced coal technology

work on an unprecedented scale. Pollution is the leading cause of death there, and local governments, utilities and entrepreneurs are building, on average, one coal-fired power plant a week. Coal gasification is the key for clean coal in China. Implementation of the technology in power plants has lagged, but large-scale efforts to produce liquid transportation fuels using gasification are well underway. Shenhua Group, China's largest coal company, is building the country's first coal-to-fuels complex. China has to rely on coal for future electricity and fuel needs and will eventually have to cap its carbon dioxide emissions, notes one analyst; "gasification is one of the few technologies that can reconcile those conflicting scenarios at reasonable cost," he added, but the timing of China's technology transition is in question.

34. CURSE OF THE DEVIL'S DOGS

By Paul Raffaele. *Smithsonian*, v. 38, no. 1, April 2007, pp. 58-65.
<http://www.smithsonianmagazine.com/issues/2007/april/wilddogs.php>

Wild dogs of Africa are a distinct species of the canine family, which was once found over most of sub-Saharan Africa. Thought to have once numbered in the hundreds of thousands, only about 5,000 remain today, mostly in the designated wildlife parks. Conservationists working to protect them from extinction are convinced that history gave the creatures an undeserved reputation as "the devil's dogs." Canine expert Gregg Rasmussen told the author the animals are "one of the most intensely social animals we know." Having lived and moved with the packs for months at a time, Rasmussen has observed that they have sophisticated forms of communication. Rasmussen saw individual animals take on jobs such as caring for the young or the injured. These social habits may cause complications in attempts to save the animals and build their populations.

35. QUICK FIXES FOR THE ENVIRONMENT: PART OF THE SOLUTION OR PART OF THE PROBLEM?

By Thomas Sterner, et al. *Environment*, v. 48, no. 10, December 2006, pp. 20-27.

Political leaders too often deal with environmental problems only when crisis is upon them, the authors note. Too often, governments implement "quick fixes" to address problems rather than looking at environmental issues in their larger contexts. Whether these choices are made from ignorance, lack of political will or resources, these short-term solutions can often exacerbate a problem in the long run. The authors have tracked this pattern in cases around the world,

citing the U.S. Gulf Coast damage from Hurricane Katrina as one of many examples. In that case and others like it, their research shows that political leaders will frequently address flooding issues with levee construction rather than enact the environmentally sound choice of allowing the river to return to its natural course. In the case of climate change, the authors point to abatement of carbon emissions as the long-term solution to the problem, and proposals to sequester emissions in the deep ocean as a short-term fix.

36. THE REGIONAL GREENHOUSE GAS INITIATIVE: TAKING ACTION IN MAINE

By Sondra Bogdonoff and Jonathan Rubin. *Environment*, v. 49, no. 2, March 2007, pp. 9-16.

The U.S. is sometimes criticized as a laggard in the worldwide response to the greenhouse gas/global warming problem. Yet, the authors note, state and local governments and regional collectives are showing a great deal of interest in the problem. They describe one such plan, the Regional Greenhouse Gas Initiative (RGGI) that is moving toward implementation in the seven Northeastern and Mid-Atlantic states that signed the original agreement, and is expanding to other states. The authors note that RGGI will have a significant impact throughout the U.S., particularly since California has signed on, and focus on what the state of Maine has to do as it begins to implement the initiative.

37. THE VANISHING

By Susan McGrath. *Smithsonian*, v. 37, no. 11, February 2007, pp. 64-71.

Almost unnoticed, millions of wild vultures in South Asia have disappeared since 1996. Vultures, sacred to the Parsi religion in funeral rituals, have played a critical role in sanitation, devouring the carcasses of millions of dead animals which have been left to decompose due to Hindu and Buddhist traditions against harming living things. Researchers discovered that a common veterinarian painkiller, diclofenac, that is used on livestock and other domesticated animals, was toxic to the vultures. Some estimates state that nearly 40 million birds have died, up to 99 percent of the population, and while a re-population program has started, it will not replace the birds to the levels that once existed. The decline of the vulture population has seen an increase in wild dogs that spread rabies. India now has approximately 30,000 human rabies cases a year – the highest in the world. Pakistan, Nepal and India banned diclofenac in 2005-2006, but it is likely too late for any significant recovery of the vulture population.

U.S. SOCIETY, VALUES & POLITICS

38. FROM THE WINDY CITY TO THE OMNIVERSE

By John Corbett. *Downbeat*, v. 73, no. 12, December 2006, pp. 34-39.

The author profiles the colorful musician, composer and mystic Herman Poole "Sonny" Blount, also known as Sun Ra, the father of "do-it-yourself jazz". Sun Ra, who died in 1993, was active beginning in the 1950s, and gained international recognition in the 1960s, with the first of his big bands, the Arkestra. Sun Ra was a fan of ancient Egypt, and incorporated Egyptian and other-worldly imagery in his writings, record lyrics and clothing. The author pieces together early recording sessions in interviews with musicians Sun Ra recruited for his bands.

39. LITTLE START-UP ON THE PRAIRIE

By Joel Kotkin. *American Interest*, v. 2, no. 4, March/April 2007, pp. 74-82.

The negative media stereotype of a depopulated, decaying rural America is out of date, notes the author, a fellow at the New America Foundation. Kotkin sees a resurgence in the heartland, thanks to the telecommunications revolution, which allows rural areas to compete for high-value-added jobs, the expansion of the energy industry, and Americans' cultural affinity for heartland values. He cites figures showing a shift in net migration from an outflow in the 1980s to a significant influx beginning in the 1990s. He acknowledges that growth is concentrated in such "nodes" as the Rapid City/Black Hills region of South Dakota, which offer appealing amenities, or Midland, Texas, where high energy prices have revived the oil sector. Twice as many Americans say they prefer to live in a small town or rural area rather than a city, and Kotkin concludes by quoting approvingly those who believe that the Heartland's sensibility, which is focused on family, religious and civic values, will turn this "nascent Heartland resurgence" into a durable trend.

40. THE NEW PIONEERS

By Stephen G. Bloom. *Wilson Quarterly*, v. 30, no. 3, Summer 2006, pp. 60-68.

Immigration, much of it illegal, is changing the face of rural America. Bloom sees these new immigrants as pioneers solidly in the American pioneering tradition. They come to Iowa's slaughterhouse

boomtowns, casinos, and revivalist communities seeking opportunity in the form of low-paying, menial jobs locals refuse to take. He focuses particularly on Iowa's meat-packing industry, where a wave of illegal Mexican and Central American pioneers has replaced a 1990s wave of Hasidic immigrants from Eastern and Central Europe in the kosher slaughterhouse in Postville, straining the town's educational system and social fabric. "The dirty secret in rural states about undocumented workers is that, politicians' and industry leaders' comments to the contrary, it is very much in their best interest to keep things the way they are. Without undocumented workers, the U.S. meat-processing industry would grind to a halt." Bloom notes that wages in meat production have dropped from \$19 per hour plus benefits in 1980 to \$6.25 per hour with few or no benefits. While only some of these pioneers stay – many return home after a few months, never to return, and others come and go as itinerant workers – their numbers, combined with the exodus of educated young people, mean that rural America is becoming an increasingly heterogeneous place.

SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY

41. CANCER CLUES FROM PET DOGS

By David J. Waters; Kathleen Wildasin. *Scientific American*, v. 295, no. 6, December 2006, pp. 94-101.

Dogs often develop bone, prostate or breast cancer which spreads to other parts of their bodies in ways similar to the progression of cancer in humans. Thus, pet dogs can serve as models for human cancer, and comparative oncologists are using dogs with naturally occurring cancers to study detection, prevention and treatment, including surgery and drug therapy. Treatments developed using dogs have significantly improved the cure rate of teenagers suffering from the bone cancer osteosarcoma. Pet dogs can raise awareness of cancer-causing chemicals in homes and yards if they develop cancers from such exposure years before the disease might develop in people, allowing time for remediation of the risk and monitoring for disease development. Dogs over 10 years of age have reduced mortality from cancer, which may offer clues to the genetic basis for cancer resistance in people over 100 years of age.

42. FACES OF THE HUMAN PAST

By Richard Milner and Ian Tattersall. *Natural History*, v. 116, no. 1, February 2007, pp. 22-29.

In the last 150 years, scientists have tried to recreate the faces of ancient human ancestors found in the fossil record. Science and art have combined to create portraits of early hominids, of which, many have become familiar through books and movies, but there is more than one "missing link". Anthropological research in the last 50 years has uncovered a variety of humans and near-humans for study, with some co-existing at the same time and place. In some cases, several human species have died out completely. One of the top teams working today to piece together the relationships among these species is Viktor Deak (artist) and Gary J. Sawyer (anthropologist), who have studied hundreds of hominid fossils since they began their collaboration in 2003. Thanks to advances in resins, rubber and plastics, paleoartists like Deak have been able to go further in creating accurate portraits of these human ancestors, giving clues to evolutionary development. They have refined their techniques by studying human and primate anatomy, using computer enhancements after the sculptures are completed. The results are featured in the book, *The Last Human: Twenty-Two Species of Extinct Humans*, released in February 2007 by Yale University Press. Many of the sculptured portraits featured in the book have been incorporated in the new hall of human origins which opened in February at the American Museum of Natural History in New York City.

43. HOUSE PROUD

By William Booth. *Smithsonian*, v. 37, no. 10, January 2007, pp. 74-76.

American architect Michelle Kaufmann has designed a factory-made modular home, considered a breakthrough due to its use of energy-efficient elements and renewable materials. The "Glidehouse" was born in 2003 when Kaufmann was looking for a place to live in the expensive San Francisco Bay area. She built her own prototype with a floor plan comprised of connecting rectangles, one side made of glass doors, a simple shed-like roof and solar panels. Friends admired it so much, they asked Kaufmann to help them build identical homes. After many months, Kaufmann bought her own factory near Seattle, Washington from a retiring builder. The three-bedroom, two-bath home uses recycled glass and paper and cost USD 292,500 to build. The manufacturing process generates little waste and the home can be constructed in about four months. Kaufmann hopes to build 10,000 prefabricated homes in the next ten years.

44. SPICE HEALER

By Gary Stix. *Scientific American*, v. 296, no. 2, February 2007, pp. 66-69.

Turmeric, a spice from an Asian plant, has been used for thousands of years in the Ayurvedic system of medicine for wound healing, blood cleansing and stomach ailments. The biologically active components of turmeric – curcumin and curcuminoids – have antioxidant, anti-inflammatory, antiviral, antibacterial and antifungal properties and are being investigated for activity against cancer, diabetes, arthritis, Alzheimer's disease and other chronic illnesses. Some investigators suggest the compounds, which offer many possible benefits with apparent low toxicity, could be used as effective treatments and low-cost preventive medications. Studies on cancerous or damaged cells have produced conflicting results, however; in some, curcumin interfered with the cell's defensive mechanism and allowed the cells to continue growing. Most studies involving other diseases are in test-tube or small-animal trials. Well-controlled, large-scale clinical trials are still needed to determine curcumin's effectiveness against these illnesses.

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